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The McDermott Plan for Germany

A leading British diplomat, Geoffrey McDermott, was the senior British representative in West Berlin from June 1961 to June 1962. He was then forced to retire, because he had begun to draft plans for a solution of the German problem which conflicted with the thinking of West German Chancellor Adenauer and some top British Foreign Office officials.

After his forced retirement Mr McDermott published some details of his plans, which were reprinted in GERMAN REPORT on October 12th 1963. Last month, in a book entitled "Berlin — Success of a Mission?", published in London by Andre Deutsch, he developed his plan still further.

Below we print extended extracts from the "McDermott Plan"; although today Mr McDermott is a private British citizen, it should be remembered that for twelve months he had the privilege of observing and studying the Berlin situation from a very privileged post — that of Her Majesty's Minister in West Berlin, with free access to all the confidential information and memoranda exchanged between the western allies. GERMAN REPORT believes that in its broad outlines, and in many of its details, the McDermott Plan provides a practicable basis for a solution of the broader German problem, as well as the narrower problem of what should be done with West Berlin. Here, in Geoffrey McDermott's own words, are details of the plan:

The intolerable thing about Berlin from the Western angle is that the situation threatens the world with war — nuclear war. This was the case in 1961; it will be so again before long. It is not the communists who make this threat; it is the West who are driven to it as a result of the unsatisfactory nature of their position in Berlin and of their diplomacy ...

Above all, the weakness of our static position in Berlin and our static diplomacy drive the West to utter the most portentous threats. Surely we can find a method of negotiating that is less dangerous and more skilful than this? I cannot agree with those public commentators, and the numerous allied officials, who think that the game of chasing one's own tail, while brandishing the nuclear weapons, is the highest and best form of diplomacy ...

I conclude that the Western allies' policy of waffle has had its day; I think there is still a chance of agreement with the communists if we take action soon, on the following lines.

1. The Western powers and the Soviet Union would agree that the long-term aim is the reunification of Germany (both sides have stated this to be their policy) and the agreements would be subject to review in, say, twenty years.

2. The present German frontiers should be recognised as definitive. This is just plain commonsense, as there is no advantage in "waiting for a peace treaty". This step represents no concession by the West as a whole; nor really by Federal Germany since her only hope of regaining her "lost territories" in Poland and Czechoslovakia lies in a world war, which in its turn would smash Germany. But it would please the communists. *(This last sentence is slightly ambiguous, but other passages in Mr McDermott's book show that he means that frontier recognition, and not world war, would "please the communists", ed.)*

3. The GDR would be recognised as a separate state — as indeed it already is: a German state ruled by Germans. Britain and her allies do a lot of trade with it; Federal Germany does a very great deal of trade. The East German authorities already control ninety-five per cent of the people going into and out of Berlin, including, of course, all the normal, i. e. non-official, nationals of the Western allies, and are recognised by all concerned for these purposes ... As for the international political implications of such recognition, in the first place it need not imply approval any more than does our recognition of the régimes in other satellites; secondly, it need not confer any great advantages on East Germany — the Bulgarian, Roumanian and Hungarian régimes, for instance, have hardly achieved any great standing as a result of recogni-

(cont. on next page)

The Author of the McDermott Plan

Geoffrey Mc Dermott was born in 1912. After taking a double first in modern languages, he entered the British Foreign Service. In 1953 he was appointed Councillor, and in 1956 became the youngest Minister in the Service.

He was Political Representative (Minister) with the Middle East Forces in Cyprus, 1958–61, and British Minister in Berlin 1961–62.

(cont. from front page)

The McDermott Plan for Germany

tion by the West; and finally it would mean recognising a state of affairs which will almost certainly exist for a very long time, for the reasons already explained. This, of course, would be a concession by the West; it would have the advantages of being realistic, and of pleasing the communists. It would also have the advantage that we could send diplomatic and consular missions into the GDR and develop contacts with the inhabitants ...

4. Berlin would be recognised as the separate entity it already is. It has nearly three and a half million inhabitants. In practice we should no doubt have to rest content with West Berlin: this has two and a quarter million inhabitants, or far more than many already independent states. She would make agreements with any powers she chose — except the two Germanys — to station their troops in reasonable numbers in the city. This would be similar to the agreements between the GDR and the Warsaw Pact countries. No doubt West Berlin would choose the Western allies, so that in effect our forces would stay as at present but on a new basis, improved because agreed between the West and the communists, unlike the Occupation Status today. This would ensure that Berlin would be really independent and not merely 'free' in the communist sense ... It would represent a different type of concession by each side, and should give West Berlin every chance of continuing to prosper as a civilised community while removing some of the irritation caused by the fishbone in Khrushchov's gullet ... Berlin would, of course, be free to go on receiving material support from the West, and also to develop trade and other relations with the GDR and with any other state.

5. The four powers would agree on guarantees for the access of their representatives, both civilian and military, to Berlin. The numbers would, as now, be very small compared with the total traffic between Berlin and elsewhere. East Germany could derogate sovereignty in this respect to the USSR without any cause for complaint — such arrangements are often made between allies. This would be a reasonable arrangement, not fully satisfying to the GDR perhaps but entirely practical.

6. Some important agencies of the United Nations would be moved to Berlin. Mr Khrushchov has shown some signs of agreeing to this. The Economic and Social Council or the Food and Agriculture Organisation might be suitable; the Human Rights Commission particularly so ... This move would also benefit the economy of West Berlin and of the GDR if they chose to be sensible about it. The idea of moving the entire United Nations headquarters seems less practicable.

7. The three German states would become members of the United Nations. This would give advantages to both sides, since at present not even Federal Germany is a member but merely has observers there. They would all three adhere to these agreements; indeed, any number of other states would be welcome as guarantors.

*

I believe on the other hand that my combination of suggestions preserves the interests of all parties. It has the great advantage that it could remove Berlin for a period, and possibly a long period, from the very dangerous position it has occupied for so many years, and will otherwise continue to occupy for many more. Of course, prestige is much at stake. But I believe these ideas would save faces all round. More important, questions of war and peace are at stake: both sides should be happy for a lull on this particular front. For these reasons I think Khrushchov could accept an arrangement on these lines if he set his mind to it. Some friends have asked me: even if Khrushchov did accept, wouldn't the agreement be only another scrap of paper? And what happens in twenty years' time? I think that if something is not done soon we may all become scraps of debris as a result of Berlin, or at best the Western position there may be ignominiously whittled away; and I think that the very fact of Khrushchov agreeing to such arrangements would bring a sense of relief almost everywhere in the world.

Concise Guide to the Bonn Spy Jungle

The West German Government maintains three different central secret service organisations. They are:

1. The "Bundesnachrichtendienst" (BND) or Federal Intelligence Service, roughly equivalent to the American CIA. This service, which is believed to maintain a full-time staff of about 5000 men, is headed by General Reinhard Gehlen, who served Hitler as one of the top nazi military intelligence experts. After the end of the war he went over to the Americans with all his secret files and large parts of his staff intact, and today nearly all the leading men in the BND are veteran nazi spies. In 1955 the Americans handed the BND over to the West German Government, but it still works very closely with the CIA.

2. The "Militärische Abschirmdienst" (MAD) or Military Counter-intelligence Service. This is nominally a purely internal department of the West German Wehrmacht, but is known to have intervened in other intelligence fields. During the period when Franz-Josef Strauss was Defence Minister, before his forced retirement in late 1962, he expanded MAD into a personal state within the state which spent much of its time collecting derogatory information on Strauss's political opponents, both within the government coalition and in other circles. Little is known about the background of the agents of MAD, but the proportion of former nazis is believed to be high.

3. The "Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz" (BVS) or Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, roughly equivalent to the American FBI or the Special Branch of Scotland Yard. This agency shadows "subversive" organisations, such as the banned Communist Party, left-wing Social Democrats and Nuclear Disarmers, as well as tapping the telephones of politicians of other parties who may represent a threat to Chancellor Adenauer. The well-informed West German magazine "Spiegel" revealed on July 24th that many leading officials of the BVS held high SS or Gestapo posts. According to "Spiegel", the internal security officer of the BVS is a former SS major; another department is staffed with an SS major, a Gestapo director, two Gestapo commissars, and a further Gestapo officer who lived under a false name until 1954 for fear of arrest as a war criminal.

Next Steps After Test Ban

Ulbricht Addresses Parliament

The German Democratic Republic will adhere to the Moscow nuclear test ban as soon as it is ratified, Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR announced in the People's Chamber on July 31st. "We shall welcome it if the West German Government uses the same rights to join in this agreement" Ulbricht stated. He was referring to official statements in Bonn claiming that the GDR had "no right" to join in the agreement, since it is not universally recognised as an independent state, and suggesting that out of protest West Germany should refuse to adhere.

Chairman Ulbricht made in the announcement in a long speech covering nearly all aspects of domestic and foreign policy in the GDR. Here are some of the main points from his speech:

Soviet Arms Proposals

"The Soviet Union has made a series of constructive proposals for maintaining peace. We agree with these proposals, and we feel that the two German states can make it easier to implement these proposals by taking the initiative themselves. We are in favour of an understanding between the two German states on freezing arms budgets. We are in favour of reducing the numbers of foreign troops both in the GDR and in West Germany. We have no objection to the stationing of representatives of the western powers with the troops of the Soviet Union in the GDR, on condition that Soviet representatives are stationed with the troops of the western powers in West Germany. We are ready to allow the installation of control stations at airfields, railway junctions, through roads and harbours, on condition that similar stations, as a measure against surprise attacks are also stationed on West German territory."

Normalisation in Germany

Apart from such steps, Chairman Ulbricht stated, there were a number of specific measures upon which the two German states could agree:

a. The two German states should solemnly renounce all nuclear arms, and should urge that no nuclear weapons be stationed or stored on German soil.

b. The two German states should support the efforts for a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty powers and NATO by concluding a non-aggression pact between themselves.

c. The two German states should help to halt the arms race by agreeing upon a reduction fo their military budgets.

Anomalies in West Berlin

Chairman Ulbricht repeated the call for the signing of a peace treaty with Germany, and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarised free city, and drew attention to some of the anomalies connected with the unsolved West Berlin question.

"Nobody can really demand of the GDR", he said, "that it should continue to tolerate the illegal speculation with valuable GDR industrial products carried out by members of the occupation troops stationed in West Berlin, who still have freedom of movement in the capital of the GDR." Walter Ulbricht was referring to the fact that British, American and French soldiers stationed in West Berlin still have freedom of movement across the state border between West and East Berlin, and are not subject to customs or currency control.

Chairman Ulbricht also protested against the activities of the Allied Travel Board in West Berlin, which is used as a cold war instrument to prevent travel by GDR citizens to western countries.

"Another left-over of the war, which is regularly misused by the West German 'Ultras' is constituted by the so-called air corridors over the territory of the GDR to West Berlin", Walter Ulbricht said. "In the period of occupation these air corridors were established by means of a simple military order to ensure supplies for the western troops in West Berlin. These corridors were never intended for civil flights. In order to prevent the misuse of these air corridors, in contravention of international law, it is necessary that air traffic to West Berlin through the air space of the GDR should be placed on a normal treaty basis."

Industrial Progress

Today the industry of the GDR is turning out three-and-a-half times as much as it did in 1950. In 90 days GDR workers are producing as much as they did in a whole year in 1950. In the coming period this great progress

THAT DIRTY WORD

By the Editor

Some years ago, the brilliant British cartoonist Giles published a picture of a little boy shouting: "Look Mum, someone has written a dirty word on the wall". The word was "Peace".

A week or two ago, after the Big Three had reached the nuclear test ban agreement, the West German Government started shouting to anyone who would listen: "Look, those wicked East Germans are scribbling 'test-ban' on the wall".

Adenauer and his cabinet went so far as to fire off protests to London and Washington, stating that if the German Democratic Republic was allowed to join the test-ban agreement, this would somehow undermine NATO. They got the brush-off which they deserved, but this episode showed the lengths to which the West German Government was prepared to go to obstruct any step to down-grade the cold war.

The Bonn argument was that the GDR does not exist, and therefore cannot be allowed to join in any sort of international agreement.

But it was not GDR adherence to the test ban which Chancellor Adenauer and his cabinet were really worried about; after all, the GDR has no nuclear weapons, and no intention of making or testing any. What worried Adenauer was that the test ban might well lead to further steps to relaxation in Europe; and further relaxation, through non-aggression pacts and other measures, would undermine the keystones of West German foreign policy; the cold war and the annexation of the German Democratic Republic.

"Peace" and "relaxation of tension" are dirty words in Bonn today.

would continue, and between 1964 and 1970 there would be a further 60% increase in production. The main way to attain this big increase would be the raising of productivity, and big investments in primary industry such as chemicals and steel. Walter Ulbricht pointed out that owing to unfavourable starting conditions, productivity in the GDR still lagged about 25% behind productivity in West Germany, though it was growing now at a faster rate than in West Germany.

The Living Standard

"Although the GDR still lags behind West Germany in material production, much more is being done here for the living standard of the population" Chairman Ulbricht said. Since 1958 real incomes in the GDR had increased by 20%; rents and utilities were much cheaper than in West Germany; and medical services were greatly superior. The GDR has one of the lowest maternity mortality rates in the world; West Germany has the highest rate amongst highly-developed industrial countries.

Walter Ulbricht announced that paid motherhood leave from work would be increased from the present 11 weeks to 14 weeks in October. From the beginning of 1964, old age pensions would be increased by up to 25 marks monthly. The increase would depend upon the length of time the pensioner had been insured.

No GDR Trade with S. Africa

All foreign trade bodies in the German Democratic Republic suspended trade with South Africa some time ago, Julius Balkow, Minister of Foreign Trade, announced on July 22nd. The GDR had taken this measure in order to support the liberation struggle of the South African people against Verwoerd's terrorist regime, the Minister stated.

Earlier the Ministry of Foreign Trade had categorically denied allegations in the western press that the GDR had sold military equipment to South Africa.

'Recognise GDR' – British TU

The biennial conference of the Transport and General Workers Union, Britain's largest trade union, demanded recognition of the German Democratic Republic on July 10th. The 760 delegates to the Scarborough conference represent 1,300,000 workers.

Harold Wilson Makes Sense on Germany

In the British House of Commons on July 3rd, Mr Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, outlined Labour Party policy on nuclear arms and disengagement in Germany. In view of the importance of the statement, we reproduce below the main points:

We found the Soviet Government would welcome a proposal to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Soviet leaders insisted that there must be no spread, direct or indirect, of nuclear weapons, and they would regard a multilateral force as a breach.

When they said this they had in mind the Germans. The Russians have an obsession — the word is not too strong — about German arms... To arm the Germans with nuclear weapons would mean the end of any hope of ending east-west tension. My words pale into insignificance compared with the vehemence of Mr Khrushchov when he expressed the same thought in Moscow. I am in no doubt at all that this would really mean the end of any policy of constructive coexistence.

It would be as much a turning point in history, as fatal a milestone on the road to World War Three, as was Hitler's march into the Rhineland.

The Opposition (the Labour Party) is utterly and unequivocally opposed in any circumstances to any suggestion that, directly or indirectly, Germany should have a finger on the nuclear trigger.

There is not one German question, but at least three, and it is important to disentangle them. There is a great deal of common ground on German nuclear arms, certainly between the Labour Party and the Soviet Government, and I think between a lot of Conservative MPs and the Soviet Government; but there is no common ground as yet on West Berlin and the proposed German Peace Treaty.

When the (British) Government discusses these things with the Russians they should insist that there is not one single homogeneous German question, as the Russians always insisted, but at least three. The so-called urgency of a peace treaty on Russian lines exists as a matter of urgency only in their minds. It is not acceptable, and it is certainly not urgent. The two million citizens of West Berlin must be free to make their own decisions about the kind of society and political system in which they live.

Disengagement could be the great solvent both to the Berlin question and to the problem of nuclear tests. The Rapacki Plan (for an atom-free zone in central Europe) has some very attractive things about it. It could be accepted as a basis for discussion.

(GERMAN REPORT comments: Most of Mr Wilson's statement makes excellent sense. He would appear to be misinformed on the various suggestions made by the Soviet Union and the GDR for the solution of the West Berlin problem by converting West Berlin into a neutralised free city; all these proposals have contained water-tight clauses ensuring the right of West Berliners to choose their own social and political system, under guarantee by the great powers and by the United Nations if this was thought necessary.)

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Medal for Flick

The West German Government conferred its highest decoration on a convicted war criminal on July 9th. The man so honoured was Friedrich Flick, sentenced to seven years imprisonment by a US military court after the war for using nazi slave labour in his factories. He was released after serving five years.

On July 9th the West German Government decorated him with the "Grand Service Cross with Star and Shoulder Band" for his great services to Germany.

Today Flick controls an industrial empire of 156 interlocking companies, has a personal fortune estimated at £150,000,000 and is believed to be the wealthiest man in West Germany.

Here are some details of Flick's career under the nazis:

A few months before Hitler came to power in 1933, Friedrich Flick joined a group of industrialists who called themselves "Friends of Heinrich Himmler", and contributed huge sums to nazi election expenses. He kept up such contributions later, the largest sum recorded being four million marks which he gave to Goering "for social purposes" in 1943.

These sums came partly from the huge profits which he made in rearmament, and partly from his acquisition for a song of Jewish-owned factories which had been "Aryanised" by the nazis. Later the nazis granted him individual factories and whole industries in all parts of occupied Europe.

During the war a major part of the labour force in the Flick factories was made up of foreign slave-labourers, POWs and concentration camp inmates. Incomplete figures compiled after the war show that Flick exploited the labour of at least 40,000 persons in these categories.

Immediately after the war, Flick was arrested by the US authorities, and on April 19th 1947 he went on trial before a US military court. On December 22nd 1947 he was found guilty of:

"1. Spoilation and plunder of occupied territories.
2. Contributing funds to the SS.
3. Enslavement and deportation to slave labour on a gigantic scale of civilians ... enslavement of concentration camp inmates ... the use of POWs in war operations ..."

He was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, but was released on August 24th 1950 in a general amnesty which freed many war prisoners.

Feiffer

ONCE UPON A TIME THERE WERE SIX MILLION PEOPLE WHO WERE WIPED OUT IN A WAR.
"TERRIBLE," EVERYBODY SAID. "BARBARIC," EVERYBODY SAID. AND AFTER THE WAR EVERYBODY, EVEN INCLUDING THE COUNTRY THAT WIPED THEM OUT, FELT AWFULLY GUILTY - EVEN TO A POINT OF TAKING THE FEW THEY COULD FIND WHO WERE LEFT AND SENDING THEM OFF TO A LAND OF THEIR OWN.
BUT THE LAND CAME TO BE IN CONSTANT TROUBLE. "THEY ALWAYS MAKE TROUBLE," EVERYBODY SAID. BUT REMINDED OF HOW THEY DID NOTHING WHEN SIX MILLION WERE WIPED OUT, EVERYBODY SHUT UP AND FELT GUILTY.
THEN ONE DAY SOME SOCIAL SCIENTISTS ARRIVED ON THE SCENE. "WE HAVE STUDIED ALL ABOUT THESE SIX MILLION," THEY SAID, "AND IT IS OUR CONCLUSION AFTER EXHAUSTIVE RESEARCH, THAT THEY HAD A MASS DEATH WISH AND WENT TO THEIR MAKER WILLINGLY"
"CONGRATULATIONS," SAID EVERYBODY TO EVERYBODY ELSE. "THEY BROUGHT IT ON THEMSELVES AND WE NO LONGER NEED TO FEEL GUILTY!" AND WONDERFULLY FREED OF THEIR GUILT THEY GAVE MISSILES AND WARHEADS AND SOME VERY BIG BOMBS TO THE COUNTRY THAT WIPED OUT THE SIX MILLION IN THE FIRST PLACE.
MORAL IF YOU DON'T AT ONCE SUCCEED, TRY, TRY AGAIN

(from "New York Herald Tribune")

Killer Globke Sentenced

The Supreme Court of the GDR sentenced Hans Globke, Dr Adenauer's State Secretary, to hard labour for life on July 23rd. The court, which tried Globke in his absence, found him guilty of crimes against humanity, war crimes, and murder.

During the 14-day trial the court heard witnesses from all parts of Europe, who testified on the part played by Globke in the liquidation of the Jews during the Second World War, and in "Germanisation" measures in many occupied countries. The main body of the evidence consisted of original nazi documents which showed that Globke, as a leading official in the nazi Ministry of the Interior, had played a major role in all the anti-Semitic legislation which made the liquidation camps possible.

Commenting on the Globke trial, the leading West German newspaper "Stuttgarter Zeitung" stated: "There can be no doubt that Globke was co-responsible for part, and that the worst part, of the National Socialist legislation."

While the Globke trial was in progress in East Berlin, Hans Globke himself appeared as a defence witness in the West German trial of four SS men charged with murdering Jews. He testified that they had been obeying orders, and had no alternative.

(Most of the documentary evidence against Globke is assembled in the book "Bureaucrat of Death". published in the GDR. Copies of this book in English, French and German will be supplied free on demand to readers of GERMAN REPORT.)

SIX YEARS LATER

By Heinz Stern & Dieter Adolph

Six years ago, on March 31st 1957, 98 girls and boys from schools in Dessau, a small industrial town in the GDR, attended their youth dedication ceremony, a short of secular confirmation traditional in the German Socialist movement, and now popular in the GDR. Walter Ulbricht, today Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, happened to be in Dessau that day, and dropped in unexpectedly at the ceremony. A photograph was published next day in the newspaper "Neues Deutschland", and two reporters of the newspaper have recently tracked down the boys and girls in the photograph, then about 15 years old, to find out what has become of them. We present their findings:

We found and spoke with the seven young people who sat in the front row of the theatre on that day. Choosing these seven from 98 is completely arbitrary, but it presents a cross section of the development of these young people — now 20 and 21 — over the past six years.

How have these young people used the time and opportunities granted by our Republic?

Ullrich: Sportsman

The factor which was to shape much of Ullrich Horn's later life began in the garden of his parents' house. His parents, both teachers in Dessau, had set up parallel bars and a horizontal bar, and Ullrich and the children from the whole street tested their strength and skill while very young.

In the summer after the youth dedication ceremony, Ullrich Horn took up canoeing seriously with a local team. By 1960 he and his friend won third place in the junior competitions in the GDR, and a year later they won first place. Since they graduated from the junior category their greatest success was an 8th placing in competition with the best canoers of the world at a contest in Czechoslovakia. The two place fifth best in the GDR, and they may win a place in next year's Olympic Games.

But paddling canoes is not a profession. Ullrich has stuck to the career he picked in 1957: next autumn he will begin his studies at the Medical School of the Karl Marx University in Leipzig. In preparation for his studies, he has worked two years as an assistant orderly in the clinic of the German College of Sports in Leipzig, where he also trains in his sports activities.

Annemarie: Draughtsman

Annemarie Kath, like Ullrich Horn, went on after the 1957 ceremonies to finish ten years of school and get a high school diploma. Im September 1959 she was apprenticed as a draughtsman. Today Annemarie is a construction draughtsman at the nationally-owned Industrial Projecting Company of Dessau. She has qualified herself as a technician and is already working independently on smaller projects.

Annemarie married in August 1962 and her surname is now Franke. Her husband is serving his eighteen months in the People's Army. When he finishes service in 1964, the couple want to study engineering; they have decided on the husband's field of heating and thermodynamics.

We asked Annemarie whether she had any big problems. "Oh yes, I have had a great problem since we were married. We have no apartment of our own as yet, and there seems little chance of getting one soon", she said.

Bärbel: Bookkeeper

Bärbel Stephan is probably the prettiest of the three girls who sat in the first theatre row in 1957. And the young mathematics teacher Rawiehl will be a proud man when he leaves the registrar's office in a few weeks time with the blonde girl with pretty eyes and delicate features as his wife.

Bärbel keeps very busy. Everyday she rides with her fiance to Rosslau, where she works in the district trade union office, dealing with budget and planning figures. "Some people consider numbers dry and boring. But I like my job very much", she said. At her place of work she is secretary of the Free German Youth group.

Her voice is just as pretty as her eyes. She often took part in local amateur contests, and she even dreamed once of studying opera singing before she was put off by the strenuous training programme at the music school in Leipzig. In addition, she was once an enthusiastic gymnast and canoer.

In the evening, Bärbel likes to read, especially German classics. "I love to read Goethe and Keller, but these days I'm almost overwhelmed with household duties."

It would really be a pity if this talented girl sinks into a narrow domestic life at the age of 20. Her old sport club would certainly be happy to see her again in its canoe or gymnastic teams, and Bärbel could certainly make a valuable contribution with her pretty voice to the programmes in the clubhouse not far from her home.

Helga: Mother

The first one to greet us in the pretty little home of the Dietrich family was 1½-year-old Michael. Whenever the doorbell rings he runs to see whether it is perhaps his father, who is doing his National Service in the People's Army. He is due for release in September.

The young mother was named Helga Dietrich six years ago, She became an apprentice salesgirl and after the three year course received a grade of "good". She was married even before completing the apprenticeship, and after she had worked for a while as salesgirl in a food shop, Michael arrived and forced her to stop working for a while. When the lively little lad is three, he will go to kindergarten. Then Helga will start working again, and she plans to qualify herself as shop director.

Bernd: "Refugee"

But did everything go well with all seven from the front row of 1957: apprenticeship, work, studies? Wasn't there one who made a mistake and took a wrong path?

There is one at least who certainly went through a great deal: Bernd Rosenwald. His mother has been alone for many years; she has been busy with her job and household and despite the best of intentions was unable to bring up Bernd with the attention and discipline she might have wished.

In October 1959 Bernd packed his bags and turned his back on the republic which had provided him with a good training as steel construction mechanic in a nationally-owned Dessau firm. After passing through the "refugee" camps at Marienfelde,

West Berlin, and Sandbostel in West Germany he landed in Dortmund. But the girl with whom and because of whom he had left had already changed her mind in West Berlin. Bernd worked for a while with a construction firm in Dortmund, but then he, too, had had enough. "There were no regular working hours there," he said. "Anyone who didn't sweat himself landed on the street. I was put up in a workers' hostel; things were a mess there; if you didn't nail your things down they just disappeared."

After three months in West Germany Bernd decided to return to the GDR. At 19, Bernd got married — perhaps somewhat too young. He moved to live with his in-laws in Hermsdorf in a ready-made nest, a pleasant little house in which two new little Rosenwalds now play — three-year-old Petro and two-year-old Birgit.

In his job as a worker at the Hermsdorf lime-pits he has proved and is proving that he has learned his lesson well. But he would like to offer the Republic even more by working again in his old trade of steel construction mechanic. He would also like to learn more, perhaps to get his foreman's certificate. But when he applied for a job at a nearby foundry and machinery plant, although a work team there expressed its willingness to have him as a member, the district office on labour and job advice refused to give its authorisation.

Kurt: Engineer

We found Kurt Piesch in the Dessau Electromotor Works. The tall slender lad with the reddish hair had been here for five years. For two and a half years he had learned the trade of electromachine constructor here; then in the spring of 1961 he got his grade of "good". And he remained in close contact with the plant during the two years he served in the ranks of the People's Army.

He also remained loyal to electrotechnology while in the army. A member of the air force, he went to a non-commissioned officers' school, learnt radio direction finding and worked in a radar station. Now he is working in the testing shop of the electromotor plant, where the motors are thoroughly examined before being shipped away. But especially because of his study during the two army years, Kurt's heart is set on modern automation technology, and he hopes to go to technical college this autumn.

Werner: Repairman

Werner Lamm once considered leaving the Republic. Today he is very happy that he never got as far as West Berlin,

Werner learnt the trade of mechanic and works for the nationally-owned Milking Equipment Company of Magdeburg. He is always on the go, repairing milking equipment and other machinery in different cooperative farms. He earns good money, but he is also glad when he goes home to Dessau over the weekend. He is now seriously thinking of qualifying himself for a more responsible post.

Another Nazi for Stockholm

An old nazi diplomat was withdrawn from the post of West German ambassador to Sweden in July; his replacement was another nazi diplomat.

The retiring diplomat was Carl Werkmeister, who had been severely criticised in the Swedish press, following publication by the GDR of nazi documents showing his implication in mass murders of Jews while a diplomat in wartime Budapest.

The new West German ambassador is Hans-Ulrich Granow, who was a German diplomat throughout the nazi period, working in Baghdad, New York, Ottawa, Paris, and then in occupied Rome and Athens.

A top secret Foreign Ministry memorandum, dated February 2nd 1942, at a time when Hitler hoped to overrun the Middle East, named Granow as one of the top officials of a secret "Arab Committee". The same memorandum stated that the aim of the committee was "to prepare politically for the German advance into the Arab region, and after the entry has been effected, to carry out German policy on the spot. Tasks in the Arab states are ... to exploit the riches of the Arab countries for the war effort of the axis powers."

After the war, Granow went back to work with his old colleagues in the West German Foreign Ministry, acting as West German Ambassador in Malaya and South Africa. In May 1960 he went on record as praising the Apartheid policy of the South African Government: "The good and strong desire of the South African Government to find a satisfactory and just solution for the uniquely complicated problems between different population groups should strengthen confidence between (West) Germany and South Africa." ("Industriekurier", West Germany, May 19th 1960).

Kielmansegg Gets New Post

General Johann-Adolf Count von Kielmansegg, former nazi colonel, will take over command of NATO Land Forces in Central Europe on August 31st, it was officially announced in Bonn.

General Kielmansegg, famous for his 1941 statement "we are now ready to destroy England", will thus be placed in command of the British Army of the Rhine, stationed in West Germany.

His predecessor in the post, general Hans Speidel, deeply implicated in nazi war crimes, has reached the retirement age, but will continue to serve as special military adviser to the Bonn Government.

Elections in October

General elections to the People's Chamber, the parliament of the German Democratic Republic, will be held on October 20th, it was announced in Berlin on August 1st. Elections to the local authorities will be held on the same date.

Candidates for elections in the GDR are selected by the five political parties and mass organisations such as trade unions. After all candidates have presented themselves to their electors at factory and neighbourhood meetings, at which unsuitable nominees can be rejected, a consolidated coalition list is prepared which is presented on election day itself.

More Come East

284 West Germans crossed into the German Democratic Republic in the week of June 28th to July 4th. This marked a new gain in the gradually increasing numbers of people moving or returning to the GDR. The number has averaged over 200 a week since the beginning of the year.

As result of summer vacation arrangements, the next issue of GERMAN REPORT will be published on September 6th.

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

In his old age — he is 87 — West German Chancellor Adenauer has started cracking slightly sick jokes. Invited by the arch-reactionary American Legion to its encampment in Miami this September, he commented: "This invitation comes as no surprise; after all, if it had not been for us Germans, America would not have any veterans."

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There has been a good reader response already to my request for guidance in the last Notebook as to whether we should call the GDR a "workers' and peasants' state" or "workers' and farmers' state".

The most valuable contribution to the discussion so far has come from Mr B. Wallace of Glasgow, who pointed out that the appelation "peasant" had not been in use for many years in Britain, except as a facetious equivalent for "troglodyte" or "cretin". Mr Wallace continued:

"A farmer, on the other hand, is equivalent here to the Russian 'kulak'. Emphatically, a farmer in Scotland is not a worker and is commonly regarded as a rich man although probably those who work their own farms, and probably work hard, can be regarded as being middle-class. He is certainly not of the proletariat; he is an owner of property.

"The term 'agricultural worker' is generic and sorts out the problem of designations which are changing or becoming obsolete. For example there were 'farm labourers' and there may still be some who are so described working on the land; there were 'farm hands' and it is possible that amongst the older generation of country people the term is still used ...

"From this you will have gathered that I at any rate would know immediately what is meant by an agricultural or farm worker in the GDR, whereas if you used the noun 'farmer' I would think I was in the capitalist West, and if you called him 'peasant' I would think he had just emerged from serfdom and was running about wearing a smock and getting ready to march on Smithfield behind Wat Tyler."

Mr Wallace suggests that we should get around the whole difficulty by referring to the GDR as an "industrial and agricultural workers' state".

By John Peet

So now we have three possible forms for the phrase. I shall be delighted to hear what other correspondents have to say on the subject. As I stated when I originally raised the subject, we cannot take the easy way out and just forget about the phrase, since it repeatedly turns up in official speeches and documents.

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A few days ago, a GDR politician was chatting at a party here in East Berlin with a visitor from Britain, and asked him: "What do the people of Britain think about Walter Ulbricht's Seven-Point Plan?" The British visitor, a wise man, considered for a moment and replied: "If you put this question to someone in Britain, you would probably get one of two answers. If the man you asked was well-read, well-informed, and politically aware, he would probably counter-question: 'What is the Seven-Point Plan?'. If he was the ordinary man in the street he would ask: 'Who is Walter Ulbricht?' "

Now I must say I hope that regular readers of GERMAN REPORT would pass the test better, because we have given details of the Seven-Point Plan in nearly every issue of this paper since it was first announced in January; but there was a large element of truth in the observation. I am reprinting it here largely for the guidance and edification of the many people in the GDR who have to do with foreign visitors, either directly as guides and interpreters, or indirectly as writers and editors of foreign language publicity.

It is a very easy trap to fall into. Everybody in the GDR knows who Walter Ulbricht is, and most people must know by now what the Seven-Point Plan is; but you cannot assume that people in other countries have the same detailed knowledge of internal GDR affairs, however important and self-evident they may seem, as you have yourself.

And before I go any further, let me break off and explain, to those readers who have just come in, that Walter Ulbricht is the Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, a position roughly equivalent to President, and at the same time First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, a party which was formed in 1946 by the amalgamation of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party. His Seven-Point Plan, announced in January this year, suggested that the two German states should conclude a pact covering the following points:

1. Respect for the existence of the other German state, and renunciation of the use of force.
2. Mutual respect for frontiers.
3. Renunciation of nuclear weapons.
4. Arms stop, and steps towards disarmament.
5. Mutual recognition of passports and citizenship.
6. Establishment of normal cultural and sport relations.
7. Conclusion of governmental trade agreement.

Of course one of the great difficulties of making things clear to a foreign listener or a reader abroad is that you have to try to explain things which he might not know, but not to insult his intelligence by telling him things which he knows already. Looking back through the previous explanatory paragraph, I can see a number of points where the explanation could be cut or expanded; should I, for instance, explain what the phrase "two German states" means?

And in case anyone should think that I am doing a holier-than-thou act, and pretending that GERMAN REPORT never makes the mistake of either over or under estimating its readers and their knowledge, let me close with a plea for readers to let us know if or when we miss the target.

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In the old days when journalists used "cable-ese", a special concentrated language to cut telegraph bills, they could claim that inaccurate reports were the result of bad deciphering of their abbreviations; today they blame it on a bad telephone line. This little note is only an excuse for quoting from the London "Sunday Telegraph" the fine story of the cable-ese version of Lincoln's Gettysburg address: "Government people people people shall unperish exearth".

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